1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Othewise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30-40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1948 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

of the five lün, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty hall full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

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757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

757 759 Certain diseases and injuries are considered best treated by particular kinds of practitioners. There is considerable agreement on diagnosing and recommended treatment in the village. For example, a Chinese herb doctor [177] is Hsin Tien is best for a broken bone and a Western doctor, for eye infections.

755 In addition to technical treatment, religious worship and sacrifices are regularly added. If one practitioner of a certain type is not immediately successful, transfer to a different type is quickly effected. On many occasions, people will go to two or three different types at once for it is felt best not to take chances.

757 Self diagnosis and treatment is common. Although several older people in Talei Li are considered to have special medical abilities, most adults are amateur health practitioners. Itinerant salesmen leave bags containing

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
463 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is
• 759 teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so